

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 BRASILIA 3038

EXDIS

E.O.11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), BR

SUBJECT: SCENARIOS FOR TOPICS TO BE DISCUSSED BY THE SECRETARY DURING  
HIS VISIT TO BRASILIA

REF: STATE 90519

1. IN RESPONSE TO REFTEL, THE FOLLOWING IS AN OUTLINE OF THE MAIN TOPICS WE EXPECT WILL BE DISCUSSED AT VARIOUS EVENTS DURING THE SECRETARY'S VISIT. INFORMATION ON PHYSICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THESE EVENTS, INCLUDING PRESS OPPORTUNITIES, IS BEING SUBMITTED SEPTEL (BRASILIA 3037), AS IS DETAILED PRESS SCENARIO (BRASILIA 3036). OUR INTENTION HERE IS TO INDICATE THE LIKELY FLOW OF SUBSTANTIVE BUSINESS AND THE PRINCIPAL BRAZILIAN INTERLOCUTORS ON MAJOR ISSUES, AND TO IDENTIFY SOME GENERAL ATTITUDES AND POLICY POSITIONS TO BE TAKEN BY THE SECRETARY IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUT EARLIER DETAILED REPORTING AND RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH WE ASSUME HAVE BEEN INCORPORATED IN BRIEFING MATERIAL FOR THE VISIT.

2. THE TOPICS FLAGGED IN THIS TELEGRAM ARE DERIVED FROM DISCUSSIONS INITIATED WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTRY DURING THE VISIT OF ASST. SEC'Y. ROGERS AND A SUBSEQUENT SERIES OF INFORMAL MEETINGS WE HAVE HAD WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND HIS CHIEF OF CABINET. ALTHOUGH THIS HAS RESULTED IN A GENERAL UNDERSTANDING CONCERNING AREAS OF MUTUAL INTEREST TO BE TAKEN UP DURING THE VISIT, WHICH ARE REFLECTED IN THIS CABLE, THERE HAS BEEN NO AGREEMENT ON A HARD AGENDA WITH THE BRAZILIANS, NOR DO THEY DESIRE ONE. WE HAVE AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT THE MEETINGS SHOULD CONTAIN  
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NO SURPRISES FOR EITHER SIDE.

3. FRIDAY, APRIL 25

A. EVENT NO. 2, 11:30 A.M. - MEETING WITH JOSE DE MAGALHAES PINTO, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL SENATE AND EX-OFFICIO PRESIDENT OF THE BRAZILIAN FEDERAL CONGRESS. AS THIS IS A COURTESY MEETING, IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE FOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED IN ANY DEPTH. THE SECRETARY SHOULD CONGRATULATE MAGALHAES PINTO ON HIS RECENT (MARCH 1, 1975) ASSUMPTION OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SENATE AND OF THE CONGRESS. THE SECRETARY MIGHT NOTE THAT MAGALHAES PINTO HAS HAD A LONG AND DISTINGUISHED CAREER OF PUBLIC SERVICE TO BRAZIL IN BOTH EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE ROLES (FYI: FEDERAL DEPUTY FROM 1946-60, CONCURRENTLY STATE SECRETARY OF FINANCE, MINAS GERAIS, 1947-50; CONCURRENTLY FOREIGN MINISTER 1967-69; SENATOR 1971-PRESENT. END FYI) AND THAT HE UNDERSTANDS THAT MAGALHAES PINTO HAS MADE SEVERAL VISITS TO THE U.S. THE SECRETARY MAY WISH TO COMMENT TO MAGALHAES PINTO THAT HE IS INFORMED THAT THE FEDERAL CONGRESS HAS RECENTLY BECOME AN INCREASINGLY ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN THE BRAZILIAN POLITICAL PROCESS. MAGALHAES PINTO MAY WELL MAKE SOME REFERENCE TO INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS (E.G. SOUTHEAST ASIA) TO WHICH THE SECRETARY SHOULD RESPOND AS APPROPRIATE.

IN THIS MEETING, AS WELL AS THE SUBSEQUENT ONE WITH CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES PRESIDENT CELIO BORJA, THE SECRETARY MIGHT INQUIRE OF HIS HOSTS OPINIONS AS TO THEIR VIEW OF THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL CONGRESS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY PROTOCOL SECTION HAS INFORMED US THAT OTHER CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS (E.G. MAJORITY AND MINORITY LEADERS, PRESIDENTS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEES) WILL BE PRESENT AT THESE MEETINGS.

B. EVENT NO. 3, 11:30 A.M. - MEETING WITH CELIO BORJA, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES. THIS MEETING WILL FOLLOW THE SAME PATTERN AS THAT WITH MAGALHAES PINTO. THE SECRETARY SHOULD CONGRATULATE BORJA ON HIS RECENT (MARCH 1, 1975) ASSUMPTION OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE CHAMBER. IN ADDITION TO THE KIND OF REMARKS SUGGESTED FOR THE MEETING WITH MAGALHAES PINTO, THE SECRETARY MAY WISH TO COMMENT ON BORJA'S HAVING AN ACADEMIC BACKGROUND (PROFESSOR OF LAW) AND ASK BORJA OF HIS IMPRESSIONS OF THE U.S. (BORJA WAS A RECENT I.V. GRANTEE.)

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C. EVENT NO. 4, 12:10 P.M. - MEETING WITH MINISTER DJACI FALCAO, PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME FEDERAL TRIBUNAL, AND OTHER MINISTERS OF THE TRIBUNAL. ON GREETING MINISTER DJACI (WHO IS ADDRESSED AS MR. PRESIDENT), THE SECRETARY SHOULD CONGRATULATE HIM ON HIS RECENT ELECTION (FEB. 15, 1975) TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE TRIBUNAL, AND MAY WISH TO COMMENT ON HIS BEING ONE OF THE YOUNGEST PRESIDENTS TO HAVE OCCUPIED THAT POSITION (FALCAO "CAME UP THROUGH THE RANKS" OF THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY). SINCE

THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COURT (WHO ARE ADDRESSED AS MR. MINISTER) WILL BE PRESENT, IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE SECRETARY TO SAY THAT HE HAD BEEN INFORMED OF THE RECENT ILLNESS OF MINISTER BALEEIRO (A LIBERAL JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME TRIBUNAL AND ONE OF ITS FORMER PRESIDENTS, FRIENDLY TO THE U.S., WHOM WE DO NOT EXPECT TO BE PRESENT) AND ASK THAT PRESIDENT DJACI CONVEY HIS BEST WISHES FOR A SPEEDY RECOVERY TO MINISTER BALEEIRO. IF MINISTER BALEEIRO IS ABLE TO BE PRESENT, THAT WILL BE A MARK OF SPECIAL COURTESY TO THE SECRETARY, AND THE SECRETARY MIGHT WISH TO ACKNOWLEDGE IT TO HIM. IN THE UNLIKELY EVENT THAT TIME ALLOWS, THE SECRETARY MIGHT WISH TO ASK PRESIDENT DJACI ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE TRIBUNAL IN FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS INVOLVING INTERNATIONAL LAW.

D. EVENT NO. 5, 13:30 P.M. - WORKING LUNCH AT FOREIGN MINISTRY. THIS WILL BE THE FIRST OPPORTUNITY THE SECRETARY WILL HAVE TO DISCUSS WITH HIS HOSTS THE SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT OF HIS VISIT. DEPENDING ON THE NATURE AND LENGTH OF FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA'S TOAST, THE SECRETARY SHOULD BE PREPARED TO USE HIS OWN TOAST AFTER LUNCH TO PRESENT A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS. IN ANY EVENT, THE SECRETARY IN HIS TOAST SHOULD PAY TRIBUTE TO SILVEIRA AND EXPRESS HIS PLEASURE AT THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CONTINUE THEIR DIALOGUE IN BRASILIA IN THE MOST ELEGANT OF ALL FOREIGN MINISTRIES. HE SHOULD ALSO PRAISE THE QUALITY OF THE BRAZILIAN FOREIGN SERVICE, NOTING THE OBSERVANCE IN BRASILIA OF THE ANNUAL DAY OF THE DIPLOMAT JUST TWO DAYS EARLIER ON APRIL 23.

THE GUESTS ARE EXPECTED TO INCLUDE, IN ADDITION TO SILVEIRA AND A FEW OF HIS SENIOR AIDES, THE CHIEF OF THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL HOUSEHOLD, GEN. GOLBERY, WHO IS THE PRESIDENT'S SENIOR AND MOST INTIMATE ADVISOR ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND THE MAIN ARCHITECT OF THE POLITICAL "DECOMPRESSION" PROCESS, MINISTERS SIMONSEN (FINANCE), REIS VELLOSO (PLANNING AND COORDINATION),

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UEKI (MINES AND ENERGY), AND SEVERO GOMES (INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE). DURING THE PERIOD OF DRINKS BEFORE LUNCH, THE SECRETARY MIGHT BEAR IN MIND THE FOLLOWING REMARKS TO BE ADDRESSED TO CERTAIN OF THE MINISTERS:

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-- GOLBERY - THE SECRETARY SHOULD DEMONSTRATE HIS AWARENESS THAT GOLBERY IS A LEADING BRAZILIAN GEOPOLITICAL THINKER AND EXPRESS HIS REGRET THAT THE BRIEFNESS OF HIS VISIT PREVENTS HIM FROM HAVING A DETAILED DISCUSSION WITH GOLBERY ON INTERNATIONAL MATTERS AND ON THE VERY INTERESTING POLITICAL EVOLUTION TAKING PLACE IN BRAZIL. THE SECRETARY SHOULD EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO SPEAK WITH GOLBERY AT THE DINNER THAT EVENING. (IN THE EVENT THAT THIS CONVERSATION MATERIALIZES, THE SECRETARY MIGHT EXPRESS, IF THE OPPORTUNITY SHOULD ARISE, THE U.S. INTEREST IN THE PROGRESS OF HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE IN BRAZIL. FOR AN APPROPRIATE CONTEXT, SEE MEETINGS WITH GEISEL AND SILVEIRA, COVERED BELOW IN PARAS. 3E AND 3F.)

-- SIMONSEN - THE SECRETARY MIGHT REMARK THAT HE HAS HEARD FROM SECRETARY SIMON OF THE VERY FRUITFUL AND REWARDING WORKING RELATIONSHIP ON INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL MATTERS THAT HE ENJOYS WITH MINISTER SIMONSEN (THEIR WORKING RELATIONSHIP IS, IN FACT, QUITE CLOSE), AND THAT HE UNDERSTANDS THAT SIMONSEN HAS BEEN AND IS A PRINCIPAL DESIGNER OF BRAZIL'S ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL PROGRESS.

-- UEKI - THE SECRETARY SHOULD EXPRESS HIS PLEASURE AT UEKI'S ACCEPTANCE OF OUR INVITATION TO HIM TO VISIT THE U.S. FOR DISCUSSIONS OF NUCLEAR POLICY AND HIS HOPE TO MEET WITH HIM IN WASHINGTON (DATES FOR THE VISIT HAVE NOT YET BEEN SET).

-- REIS VELLOSO - IN GREETING VELLOSO, THE SECRETARY SHOULD RECALL WITH PLEASURE HIS DINNER CONVERSATION WITH VELLOSO  
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IN PARIS DURING NOVEMBER, 1973 (WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE SECRETARY PUT A SERIES OF QUESTIONS TO VELLOSO CONCERNING BRAZILIAN DEVELOPMENT). THE SECRETARY SHOULD ALSO NOTE HIS GRATIFICATION THAT VELLOSO WILL BE VISITING THE U.S. OFFICIALLY, PARTICULARLY THE SOUTH AND SOUTHWEST, IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

DURING OR IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE PRE-LUNCH DRINKS, THE SECRETARY WILL, WE ASSUME, WANT TO RESOLVE WITH SILVEIRA WHETHER OR NOT A PUBLIC DOCUMENT (E.G. A COMMUNIQUE OR JOINT STATEMENT) SHOULD BE ISSUED AT THE CONCLUSION OF HIS VISIT. THE BRAZILIANS ARE VERY FLEXIBLE ON THIS QUESTION. (IF THE SECRETARY ALREADY HAS A CLEAR PREFERENCE, PLEASE ADVISE AND WE WILL TAKE IT UP WITH SILVEIRA.)

THE FOLLOWING ARE POINTS THAT ARE LIKELY TO BE RAISED DURING LUNCH, IN EITHER GENERAL OR INDIVIDUAL CONVERSATIONS:

(1) THE U.S. VIEW OF THE WORLD AS OF APRIL 25, 1975:  
ALL THE GUESTS WILL BE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE SECRETARY'S VIEW OF WHERE THE U.S. GOES FROM HERE IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT SERIOUS INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS. UNDERLYING THIS INTEREST WILL BE CONCERN OVER THE CONTINUED POLITICAL WILL OF THE U.S. TO MAINTAIN ITS WORLD LEADERSHIP. (ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE LUNCH-- AS WELL AS ALL OTHER KEY PERSONALITIES THE SECRETARY WILL BE SEEING IN BRASILIA -- WILL HAVE BEEN PROVIDED A COPY OF THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH OF APRIL 17.)

(2) PORTUGAL: AS PART OF THE ADDRESS TO CURRENT STRATEGIC REALITIES AND PROSPECTS, THE SECRETARY SHOULD ASK HIS BRAZILIAN INTERLOCUTORS ABOUT THE BRAZILIAN VIEW OF CURRENT PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS. THERE WILL BE A VERY HIGH GENERAL INTEREST IN DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT, AND THE SECRETARY SHOULD BE PREPARED TO STATE THE CURRENT U.S. PERCEPTION OF THE PORTUGUESE SITUATION, PARTICULARLY IN THE SENSE OF ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR NATO. SILVEIRA AND GOLBERY WILL PROBABLY BE THE PRINCIPAL PARTICIPANTS IN THIS DISCUSSION ON THE BRAZILIAN SIDE.

(3) THE CONSUMER/PRODUCER RELATIONSHIP: - THE OUTLOOK AFTER PARIS: WE WOULD EXPECT AND WANT THE SECRETARY TO BE CANDID ABOUT OUR DISAPPOINTMENT AND CONCERN OVER THE INTRANSIGENCE OF THE SEVEN (INCLUDING BRAZIL, WHICH WAS, AS WE READ IT, CONFIDENTIAL

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INERTLY ON THEIR SIDE). SILVEIRA, UEKI AND SIMONSEN SHOULD BE THE MOST ACTIVE BRAZILIAN PARTICIPANTS ON THIS SUBJECT.

- (4) HEMISPHERIC AFFAIRS, INCLUDING:
- THE OAS/GA (RESTRUCTURING OF THE SYSTEM, CHANGES IN THE RIO TREATY)
  - CUBA, - NEXT STEPS IN THE CUBAN CASE
  - FUTURE OF THE NEW DIALOGUE

SILVEIRA MAY BEGIN A DISCUSSION OF THESE TOPICS AT THE LUNCH, BUT ANY SEARCHING TREATMENT OF THEM WOULD BE RESERVED FOR HIS MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY. IF SILVEIRA DOES

TAKE UP THESE MATTERS AT THE LUNCH, GOLBERY MIGHT JOIN THE CON-  
VERSATION AS A PRINCIPAL.

(5) TRADE ISSUES, INCLUDING THE TRADE REFORM ACT, THE  
MTN'S AND COUNTERVAILING DUTIES: WITH RESPECT TO THE TRA, THE  
SECRETARY SHOULD REVIEW THE STATE OF PLAY IN WASHINGTON. HE  
SHOULD EXPRESS OUR HOPES FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO THE MTN'S  
AND OUR STRONG INTEREST IN CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE BRAZILIAN  
DELEGATION IN GENEVA. THE SECRETARY SHOULD ADDRESS BRAZILIAN  
CONCERN ABOUT THE "MANIPULATIVE" (I.E. COERCIVE) ASPECT OF THE  
TRA AND BRAZILIAN DESIRES AT THE MTN'S TO REACH AN ACCORD ON  
DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR THE LDC'S, INCLUDING THEIR STRONG  
HOPE THAT MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT WILL BE REACHED ON SUBSIDIES  
AND COUNTERVAILING AGREEMENT WILL BE REACHED ON SUBSIDIES  
AND COUNTERVAILING DUTIES THAT WOULD ENCOMPASS SUCH DIFFERENTIAL  
TREATMENT. THE SECRETARY SHOULD ALSO BE PREPARED TO DIRECT  
HIMSELF TO WELL-FOUNDED BRAZILIAN FEARS OF -- AND THE DEEP RESENT-  
MENT THAT WOULD BE CAUSED IN BRAZIL BY -- A ROLLING SERIES OF U.S.  
COUNTERVAILING DUTY ACTIONS AGAINST BRAZILIAN EXPORTS. ALL THE  
BRAZILIAN PARTICIPANTS WILL BE VERY INTERESTED IN THESE  
SUBJECT:

(6) COFFEE (COMMODITY ARRANGEMENTS/ACCESS TO RAW  
MATERIALS): WE BELIEVE THE SECRETARY SHOULD AVOID BEING DRAWN  
INTO THE SPECIFICS OF A NEW COFFEE AGREEMENT. HE MIGHT SAY,  
HOWEVER, THAT HE IS ENCOURAGED BY THE SERIOUS AND CONSTRUCTIVE  
DISCUSSIONS IN LONDON, AND THAT HE IS AWARE OF THE CLOSE AND  
VERY USEFUL WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO DELEGATIONS.  
HE SHOULD PLEDGE CONTINUING U.S. EFFORT, IN COOPERATION WITH  
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BRAZIL, TO PURSUE EXPEDITIOUS NEGOTIATION OF AN AGREEMENT AND  
EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT CLOSE BILATERAL CONTACTS WILL BE MAIN-  
TAINED BETWEEN THE U.S. AND BRAZIL AS THE WORLD'S PRINCIPAL  
CONSUMER AND PRODUCER.

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EXDIS

ON COMMODITY ARRANGEMENTS, THE SECRETARY MIGHT WISH TO REEMPHASIZE THAT THE U.S. IS NOT OPPOSED TO THOSE WHICH TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF BOTH PRODUCES AND CONSUMERS. CONVERSELY, HE SHOULD STRESS THE INCREASED CONCERN FOR SECURITY OF RAW MATERIALS SUPPLY IN THE U.S., AS REFLECTED IN THE TRADE ACT, AND INVITE THE THOUGHTS OF HIS INTERLOCUTORS ON THIS ISSUE. THE PRINCIPAL BRAZILIAN PARTICIPANTS IN THE EXCHANGES ON THESE MATTERS WILL BE SILVEIRA, SEVERO GOMES, SIMONSEN AND REIS VELLOSO.

(7) NUCLEAR ENERGY ISSUES: IF THE DECISION IS MADE IN WASHINGTON TO RAISE THIS ISSUE, THE SECRETARY SHOULD STATE AT THE OUTSET THAT WE ARE FULLY AWARE OF AND UNDERSTAND BRAZIL'S DESIRE TO BUILD UP A NUCLEAR INDUSTRY, IN LINE WITH ITS INTEREST IN HIGH TECHNOLOGY, AND THAT, TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, WE WANT TO COOPERATE. OUR CONCERN IS THAT CERTAIN ASPECTS OF SUCH A DEVELOPMENT RAISE SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR GLOBAL NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION.

ON THE MINDS OF HIS BRAZILIAN AUDIENCE WILL BE UNEASE OVER THE RELIABILITY OF U.S. ENRICHED URANIUM SUPPLIES, NOTABLY THE OUTSTANDING CONDITIONAL CONTRACTS. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF, CONSISTENT WITH STATE 87906 WHICH THE AMBASSADOR WILL HAVE ALREADY PRESENTED TO UEKI AND THE FOREIGN MINISTRY EARLIER IN THE WEEK, THE SECRETARY COULD DISCUSS POSITIVELY THE POSSIBILITIES OF BRAZILIAN INVESTMENT IN A FOURTH URANIUM ENRICHMENT PLANT IN THE U.S. AND THE EVENTUAL POSSIBILITY OF MULTINATIONAL ENRICHMENT FACILITIES OUTSIDE THE CONFIDENTIAL

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U.S. BASED ON U.S. TECHNOLOGY. SILVEIRA, GOLBERY AND UEKI WILL BE MOST CLOSELY INVOLVED IN THIS ISSUE.

AS NOTED EARLIER, WE DO NOT EXPECT THAT ALL OF THE ABOVE TOPICS WILL BE COVERED AT LUNCH.

IN THE SUBSTANTIVE PORTION OF HIS TOAST, THE SECRETARY SHOULD NOTE OUR PERCEPTION OF BRAZIL AS AN EMERGING POWER WITH AN IMPORTANT WORLD ROLE, SUPPORTED BY A RAPIDLY EXPANDING ECONOMY.

HE SHOULD OBSERVE THAT BRAZIL, IN ADDITION TO BEING, BY VIRTUE OF ITS DIMENSIONS AN DYNAMISM ALONE, A POWERFUL FORCE IN LATIN AMERICA, IS PLAYING AN INFLUENTIAL PART IN THE ADDRESS TO THE ISSUE OF GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE AND WILL, WE TRUST, BE MAKING AN EVER MORE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THEIR RESOLUTION IN THE FUTURE. THE SECRETARY SHOULD REFER TO OUR LONG HISTORY OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL, AND STRESS THE RESULTING SPECIAL IMPORTANCE WE PLACE ON SEEKING WITH BRAZIL AREAS OF CONVERGENT INTEREST ON ALL PLANES OF OUR RELATIONSHIP. IT WOULD ALSO BE APPROPRIATE AND GRACEFUL FOR THE SECRETARY TO MAKE SOME REFERENCE TO THE VERY INTERESTING AND IMPORTANT SPEECH GIVEN BY SILVEIRA AT RECIFE, BUT WE ASSUME THAT MAJOR ALLUSIONS TO THE THESES SET FORTH IN THAT ADDRESS WILL BE RESERVED FOR THE SECRETARY'S DINNER TOAST/SPEECH. (THE SECRETARY WILL RECALL THAT SILVEIRA TOOK PAINS TO SEND HIM A COPY OF THE SPEECH AND THAT IN HIS REPLY, THE SECRETARY PROMISED SILVEIRA TO READ IT WITH INTEREST.)

E. EVENT NO. 6, 2:30 P.M. - MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GEISEL. PRESIDENT GEISEL IS A VERY ACTIVE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT WHO INVOLVES HIMSELF CLOSELY IN DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS: HE IS NOT A CHIEF OF STATE ABOVE THE BATTLE, AS WAS HIS PREDECESSOR. THE SECRETARY WILL FIND HIM VERY INFORMED, AND HOLDING WELL-DEVELOPED VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AND BRAZIL'S OWN ROLE IN THEM. WE BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENT GEISEL WILL BE INTERESTED IN PURSUING WITH THE SECRETARY BOTH THE GLOBAL STRATEGIC SETTING, PARTICULARLY AS IT AFFECTS BRAZIL, AND CONCRETE BILATERAL ISSUES.

AS AN OPENER, THE SECRETARY MAY WISH TO CONGRATULATE THE PRESIDENT ON THE SUCCESSES OF HIS FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE, IN THE FACE OF DIFFICULT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS INDUCED IN GOOD PART BY

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GLOBAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND OF A SIGNIFICANT INTERNAL POLITICAL EVOLUTION.

AMONG THE SUBJECTS THAT MAY ARISE IN THE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT ARE THE FOLLOWING:

(1) THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE U.S.: GEISEL WOULD WELCOME A STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF HIS JUDGMENT OF THE EFFECT ON U.S. WILL AND LEADERSHIP OF RECENT EVENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE NEAR EAST. AT THE SAME TIME, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT THAT THE SECRETARY ELICIT FROM GEISEL A STATEMENT OF HIS PERCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD SITUATION AND OF HIS VIEWS OF THE ROLE BRAZIL CAN PLAY IN THE PRESENT AND FORESEEABLE INTERPLAY OF FORCES. UNDERLYING THE PRESIDENT'S INTEREST WILL BE A DESIRE TO KNOW WHETHER THE U.S. SECURITY SHIELD, BEHIND WHICH BRAZIL HAS BEEN PURSUING ITS DRIVE FOR MAJOR POWER STATUS, HAS BEEN WEAKENED. (BRASILIA 2639)



(2) U.S.- SOVIET AND U.S. -CHINESE RELATIONS: ON THE PRESIDENT'S MIND WILL BE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE EVOLUTION OF U.S.-SOVIET AND U.S.- CHINESE RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE EFFECT ON DETENTE OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

(3) PORTUGAL: THIS WILL BE A TOPIC OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO THE PRESIDENT, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF BRAZIL'S SPECIAL HISTORIC INTEREST IN PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF THE BROADER STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS. THE SECRETARY MIGHT OPEN THIS SUBJECT BY ASKING THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE PORTUGUESE POLITICAL SCENE, AND SKETCH OUT U.S. ASSESSMENTS AND VIEWS ON THE BROADER RAMIFICATIONS IN LIGHT OF GEISEL'S COMMENTS. (SEE EVENT NO. 5, PARA. 3D.)

(4) FRAMEWORK OF U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS/NEW DIALOGUE: THE PRESIDENT WILL WISH TO HEAR THE SECRETARY'S VIEWS ON THE OUTLOOK FOR U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS AND ON NEXT STEPS TO BE TAKEN CONCERNING THE NEW DIALOGUE. THE SECRETARY SHOULD ASK FOR THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS. THE PRESIDENT WILL PROBABLY EXPRESS HIS SATISFACTION WITH THE NEW DIALOGUE AS AN INFORMAL, USEFUL VEHICLE FOR THE EXPLORATION AND DISCUSSION OF HEMISPHERIC ISSUES IN A MULTILATERAL SETTING. HE WILL PROBABLY STRESS, HOWEVER, THAT THE U.S. MUST GIVE CONTENT TO THE NEW DIALOGUE BY ADOPTING

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CONCRETE MEASURES TO MEET LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIC CONCERNS. HERE HE MAY SAY THAT THE TRADE ACT WAS NOT A GOOD AUGURY FOR GIVING REAL SUBSTANCE TO THE DIALOGUE. IT IS UNLIKELY, BUT POSSIBLE, THAT THE PRESIDENT MAY EXPRESS DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE LACK OF PROGRESS IN THE WORKING GROUPS ON TRANSNATIONALS AND THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY.

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(5) NATURE OF U.S.-BRAZIL RELATIONS: THE SECRETARY MIGHT STRESS THE U.S. CONVICTION THAT U.S.-BRAZILIAN COOPERATION CAN BE BROADENED FOR MUTUAL BENEFIT IN MANY FIELDS AND U.S. DETERMINATION TO SEEK SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS IN OUR RELATIONSHIP. THE PRESIDENT, FOR HIS PART, WILL CERTAINLY EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE WHICH HE PERSONALLY ATTACHES TO BRAZIL'S RELATIONS WITH THE U.S., AND THE CONTINUING NEED FOR U.S. LEADERSHIP OF THE WEST. IT IS POSSIBLE, IN THIS CONTEXT, THAT THE PRESIDENT MAY EVEN USE THE TERM "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP" IN REFERRING TO U.S.- BRAZILIAN TIES. HE MAY NOTE THAT HIS ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY OF "NO AUTOMATIC ALIGNMENTS" DOES NOT MEAN THAT BRAZIL IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE WEST IN THE POLITICAL, CULTURAL, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SENSE. AS EVIDENCE OF THIS, HE MAY REFER TO THE POLITICAL SUPPORT WHICH BRAZIL, AS A POLITICALLY CONSERVATIVE, ANTI-COMMUNIST COUNTRY, HAS GIVEN THE U.S. ON EAST-EST ISSUES(AS DISTINCT FROM ITS POSITIONS ON NORTH-SOUTH DEVELOPMENT ISSUES ON WHICH BRAZIL IS ALMOST ALWAYS IN THE LDC CAMP). HE MAY BE FRANK ENOUGH TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT, IN CONFORMANCE WITH ITS "NO AUTOMATIC ALIGNMENT" POLICY, BRAZIL DOES NOT INTEND TO BE A SURROGATE OR STALKING HORSE FOR U.S. INITIATIVES, THAT ITS POLICY IS DESIGNED TO ASSURE BRAZIL'S OTHER ASSOCIATES OF THAT POSTURE, AND, INDEED, THAT BRAZIL IS JEALOUS OF ITS FREEDOM OF ACTION.

NOTING THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF ECONOMIC DISPUTES, THE PRESIDENT MAY CITE THE BRAZILIAN PUBLIC'S TRADITIONAL ADMIRATION AND RESPECT FOR THE U.S.AND EXPRESS HIS CONCERN THAT THIS REGARD MAY BE ERODED BY U.S. RESTRICTIVE MEASURES AGAINST BRAZILIAN EXPORTS. HERE HE MAY REFER TO AN EARLIER CONFIDENTIAL

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FORMULATION BY SILVEIRA, THAT THE U.S. IS TAKING THE COMFORTABLE BUT ERRONEOUS COURSE, ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, OF TREATING BRAZIL LIKE A DEVELOPED COUNTRY -- AN ATTITUDE WHICH ACCELERATES BRAZIL'S SEARCH FOR NEW RELATIONSHIPS.

(6) DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION: SOME TIME BEFORE THE DISCUSSION TURNS TO OTHER SPECIFIC BILATERAL ISSUES, IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF THE SECRETARY WERE TO FIND AN OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT POSITIVELY ON BRAZIL'S POLITICAL DECOMPRESSION PROCESS AND TO ALLUDE TO THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. (SEE BRASILIA 2866)

(7) OTHER SUBJECTS: ALL THE OTHER ISSUES LISTED FOR POSSIBLE DISCUSSION IN THE WORKING LUNCH COULD ALSO COME UP IN THE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GEISEL. AMONG THESE OTHER ISSUES, WE RECOMMEND THE SECRETARY SHOULD IN ANY EVENT TOUCH UPON:

- THE NUCLEAR ENERGY ISSUES: IF THE SECRETARY INTENDS TO TALK ABOUT HIS SUBJECT, IT SHOULD DEFINITELY BE RAISED WITH THE PRESIDENT:

- TRADE ISSUES.

F. EVENT NO. 7, 4:30 P.M. - FIRST MEETING WITH FONMIN SILVEIRA. THE FONMIN HAS INDICATED TO THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE WISHES TO MEET WITH THE SECRETARY IN PRIVATE AT THE OUTSET OF THE MEETING AND THEN TO BROADEN THE PARTICIPATION.

SILVEIRA ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL USE THIS PRIVATE MEETING TO PIN DOWN A SYSTEM OF PERIODIC CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND HIMSELF. ON THE SECRETARY'S PARTY, WHILE IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE TO DISCUSS INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS, THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE, IF PREVIOUSLY INTRODUCED BY THE SECRETARY IN THE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GEISEL, SHOULD BE PURSUED WITH SILVEIRA IN THIS PRIVATE MEETING.

THE CONVERSATIONS WITH SILVERIRA IN THE PRIVATE AND GENERAL MEETINGS WILL BE VERY WIDE-RANGING AND WILL ENCOMPASS IN GREATER DETAIL PROBABLY ALL THE SUBJECTS LISTED UNDER THE PREVIOUS EVENTS.

IN ADDITION, THE SECRETARY MAY WISH TO RAISE:  
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(1) BRAZIL'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESOLUTION OF THE WORLD FOOD PROBLEM: SILVEIRA WILL HAVE VERY LITTLE INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT BUT APPEARS TO EXPECT IT TO BE RAISED AS AN ITEM OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO THE SECRETARY. A MORE ACTIVE, CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE BY BRAZIL IN THE WFC FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES WOULD BE DESIREABLE.

(2) CHILE-PERU: WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THE SECRETARY WILL WISH TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT, IN VIEW OF THE POSTPONEMENT OF HIS VISIT TO THE WEST COAST. WE DO NOT EXPECT THE FONMIN TO BE INTERESTED IN RAISING IT. IF IT DOES COME UP ON EITHER SIDE, THE SECRETARY SHOULD ELICIT BRAZILIAN VIEWS ON THIS PROBLEM.

(3) EXPANDED COOPERATION IN SCIENCE: THIS SHOULD NOT COME UP UNLESS THE SECRETARY HAS SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS TO OFFER.

(4) LOS: THE SECRETARY SHOULD MENTION THIS SUBJECT, TO

REINFORCE THE AMBASSADOR'S APPROACH, URGING THE GOB TO TAKE A MORE FORTHCOMING STANCE ON THE DEEP-SEA BEDS ISSUE (GENEVA 2702). THE SECRETARY SHOULD NOTE THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF MOVING THIS ISSUE ALONG IF THE LOS CONFERENCE IS TO SUCCEED. HE MAY WISH TO MAKE A GENERAL REFERENCE TO THE DESIRABILITY OF RESOLVING THE LOS PROBLEMS IN ORDER TO REMOVE SUCH ISSUES AS A SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL CONTENTION.

PANAMA CANAL: IN ORDER TO ACQUIT AN UNDERTAKING WHICH, ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, BE MADE TO PANAMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER TACK DURING HIS VISIT LAST WEEK TO BRAZIL, SILVEIRA MAY IN AN ESSENTIALLY PRO FORMA WAY STATE THAT BRAZIL SUPPORTS PANAMA'S ASPIRATIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE PANAMA CANAL.

G. EVENT NO. 8, 9:00 P.M. - BLACK TIE STAG DINNER AT FOREIGN MINISTRY. IN THE TOTAL OF 130 INVITED GUESTS, ALL THE PERSONS THE SECRETARY WILL HAVE MET THUS FAR IN THE VISIT WILL BE INCLUDED, ALONG WITH THE AMBASSADORS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS INCLUDING CANADA, GOVERNMENT MINISTERS, HIGH CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES, LEGISLATIVE LEADERS, SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE JUDICIARY, AND LEADING PUBLISHERS. THIS WILL BE THE OCCASION FOR THE SECRETARY'S MAJOR PUBLIC STATEMENT WHICH WILL TAKE THE FORM OF A SPEECH AND TOAST.  
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SPECIAL NOTE: IF THE SECRETARY SHOULD MEET JULIO MESQUITA NETO, PUBLISHER OF THE NEWSPAPER O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, HE SHOULD EXPRESS HIS APPRECIATION FOR THE INVITATION EXTENDED TO HIM BY MESQUITA LAST YEAR TO SPEAK IN SAO PAULO UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE NEWSPAPER AS PART OF THE CENTENNIAL OF ITS FOUNDING, AND REGRET THAT SHORTNESS OF TIME HAS NOT ALLOWED HIM TO ACCEPT. THE SECRETARY SHOULD CONGRATULATE MESQUITA ON THE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NEWSPAPER (JANUARY 5 OF THIS YEAR), REFER TO ITS ROLE AS A LEADING DEFENDER OF FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, AND COMPLIMENT HIM ON HIS RECENT ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION.

4. SATURDAY, APRIL 26

A. EVENT NO. 9, 9:00 A.M. - MEETING WITH MINISTERS SIMONSEM (FINANCE) AND REIS VELLOSO (PLANNING AND CORRDINATION) THE SECRETARY MAY WISH TO BEGIN BY EXPRESSING HIS ADMIRATION FOR BRAZIL'S ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE AND NOTE THE LONG-RANGE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF BRAZIL'S DRIVE FOR MAJOR INDUSTRIAL POWER STATUS.

THE SECRETARY THEN MIGHT ASK THE MINISTER'S VIEWS ON:  
-- BRAZIL'S ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL OUTLOOK OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS: PARTICULARLY, HOW BRAZIL IS COPING WITH-- AND PLANS TO COPE WITH -- PRESSURES IN THE FINANCIAL MARKETS CREATED BY THE PETROLEUM SITUATION.

-- THEIR ASSESSMENT OF THE PARTICULAR POINTS OF STRENGTH  
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IN BRAZIL'S DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY, IN LIGHT OF THE EXPERIENCE TO DATE.

THE ECONOMIC MINISTERS WILL WANT TO DISCUSS THE ECONOMIC ISSUES IN GREATER DETAIL THEN WILL HAVE BEEN THE CASE IN THE WORKING LUNCHEON, IN THE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GEISEL, AND IN THE FIRST SILVEIRA MEETING. IN ADDITION TO BEING PREPARED FOR THE TOPICS CITED AS APPLICABLE IN EARLIER EVENTS, THE SECRETARY MIGHT:

-- GIVE RECOGNITION TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE U.S. MARKET FOR BRAZIL'S EXPORTS:

-- WHILE EXPRESSING AWARENESS OF BRAZIL'S BALANCE-OF-PAYMENT PROBLEMS, NOTE U.S. CONCERN OVER BRAZIL'S RESTRICTIVE IMPORT POLICY AND ITS EFFECTS ON CERTAIN U.S. EXPORTS:

-- INVITE THE MINISTER'S COMMENTS ON THE ROLE OF U.S. INVESTMENT IN BRAZIL AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ITS EXPANSION.

B. EVENT NO. 10, 10:30 A.M. - SECOND AND FINAL MEETING WITH SILVEIRA. (MINISTER UEKI MAY JOIN FOR PART OF THE MEETING) AS THE FINAL SUBSTANTIVE ENCOUNTER WITH SILVEIRA, THIS MEETING WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF PREVIOUS TOPICS, TO TIE UP ANY LOOSE ENDS, AND TO PUT INTO FINAL SHAPE A PREVIOUSLY DRAFTED COMMUNIQUE OR JOINT STATEMENT.

IF THE DECISION IS MADE IN WASHINGTON TO TAKE UP NUCLEAR POLICY, THIS MEETING, WITH UEKI'S PARTICIPATION, WOULD BE THE APPROPRIATE FORUM TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE IN GREATER DEPTH. (SEE EVENT 5, PARA. 3D)

FINALLY, IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE SECRETARY TO GIVE SILVEIRA AN OPPORTUNITY TO SUGGEST POINTS HE WOULD PARTICULARLY WISH TO SEE THE SECRETARY MAKE IN THE PRESS CONFERENCE, WHICH FOLLOWS THIS MEETING AND AT WHICH SILVEIRA WILL PROBABLY BE PRESENT.

C. EVENT NO. 11, 12:00 NOON - PRESS CONFERENCE, ITAMARATEY AUDITORIUM. THERE WILL BE 60 TO 70 NEWSMEN AND PHOTOGRAPHERS IN THE AUDITORIUM. THESE WILL INCLUDE THE 14 FROM THE SECRETARY'S CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESS PARTY: ABOUT 10 OTHER AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS FROM BRAZIL AND OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES (REPRESENTING AP, UPI, NEW YORK TIMES, TIME, LOS ANGELES TIMES, WASHINGTON POST/NEWSWEEK, CBS, ETC.); THREE TO FIVE BRAZILIAN TV CREWS; THE MOST SOPHISTICATED AND BEST INFORMED BRAZILIAN REPORTERS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND 20 AND 25 PHOTOGRAPHERS.

THE ATMOSPHERE WILL NOT BE HOSTILE ALTHOUGH THE JOURNALISTS PRESENT WILL NOT BE "PUSHOVERS" AND WILL PROBE. THE REACTION IN THE BRAZILIAN PRESS SO FAR, AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE FROM THE DAILY MEDIA REACTION REPORTS, HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT SKEPTICAL -- IN SOME RESPECTS, EVEN SNIDE -- ABOUT THE PRACTICAL USEFULNESS OF THIS BRIEF VISIT. WHILE HIGHLY REGARDED PERSONALLY AND OBVIOUSLY ATTRACTING VERY GREAT INTEREST, THE SECRETARY IS NO LONGER LOOKED UPON BY THE PRESS AS THE AWESOME MIRACLE WORKER THAT HE WAS EARLIER CONSIDERED TO BE.

IN ADDITION TO THE POSSIBLE QUESTIONS LISTED IN BRAZILIA 2318 (USIAC, INFO DEPT.) OF MARCH 27, THE FOLLOWING QUERIES MAY BE RAISED:

(1) DID YOU EXTEND AN INVITATION TO PRESIDENT GEISEL ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT FORD TO VISIT THE U.S.?

(2) WHAT ARE YOUR PERSONAL PLANS? ARE YOU GOING TO RESIGN?

(3) WITH THE RECENT FAILURES IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY  
FRESH BEFORE US, HOW DO YOU SEE U.S. POLICIES DEVELOPING IN THE  
NEAR FUTURE, KEEPING IN MIND SPECIFICALLY CONGRESSIONAL ISOLATIONIST  
SENTIMENTS?

(4) NOW THAT THE PREPCON FOR THE CONSUMER-PRODUCER  
CONFERENCE HAS FAILED, WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE NEXT STEP?

(5) WITH SOUTHWEST ASIA GOING DOWN THE DRAIN, WITH  
THE FAILURE OF YOUR MIDEAST INITIATIVES, WITH PORTUGAL GOING  
COMMUNIST, WHAT IS THE REAL VALUE OF DETENTE?

(6) CAN NATO ENDURE THE PRACTICAL DEFECTION OF PORTUGAL,  
PARTICULARLY AFTER THE STRAINS PRODUCED BY THE GREEK AND  
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TURKISH CONFLICT?

(7) WHAT DO YOU THINK YOU CAN ACCOMPLISH IN IMPROVING  
U.S.- LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS IN SUCH A BRIEF VISIT?

(8) WHOM DO YOU CONSIDER THE LEADER IN THE HEMISPHERE--  
VENEZUELA OR BRAZIL?

(9) ARE THERE GOING TO BE ANY OTHER BRAZILIAN EXPORTS  
SUBJECTED TO COUNTERVAILING DUTIES?

(10) WHAT ARE YOUR VIEWS ABOUT THE PROCESS OF DECOMPRESSION  
IN BRAZIL, AND DO YOU THINK IT CAN CONTINUE?

(11) DID YOU EXPRESS U.S. CONCERN ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS  
QUESTION IN BRAZIL IN YOUR DISCUSSIONS WITH GOB LEADERS?

5. FOR DEPARTMENT'S ACTION: PLEASE NOTE THAT IN OUR INFORMAL  
TALKS ABOUT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE VISIT, NUCLEAR ENERGY ISSUES  
AND LOS HAVE NOT BEEN MENTIONED TO THE BRAZILIANS AS TOPICS  
LIKELY TO COME UP. IF THE SECRETARY DESIRES TO RAISE EITHER OR  
BOTH OF THEM, WE WOULD WANT TO NOTIFY THE FOREIGN MINISTER IN  
ADVANCE SO AS TO PERMIT AS FRUITFUL DISCUSSIONS AS POSSIBLE.  
WE WOULD APPRECIATE AN URGENT RESPONSE TO THIS QUESTION.  
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**TAGS:** OVIP, BR, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)  
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